1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

APPENDIX I

POPULATION AND MALE NAMES

Writing in 1892, Père Vidil, the first Roman Catholic missionary on Vao, made a rough census of the population, which he found to consist of about 400 men, a still greater number of women and a host of children,[1] and it is presumably on this evidence that Godefroy later estimated that the island may at one time have supported a population of perhaps 1000, but never more. By the year 1910 it had shrunk in Godefroy's opinion to about 600.[2] Speiser estimates the population in about 1912 to have been roughly 500,[3] and Harrisson made a census in 1935 that amounted to 406 with a sex ratio of 126 males per 100 females.[4]

On the other hand, in an undated letter, Godefroy estimates the population of the five main Small Islands at—

Vao . .	390 inhabitants.	Rano . .	250 inhabitants.
Atchin . .	300 „	Uripiv . .	100 „
Wala . .	300 „		

The only figure which I can compare with these is my own census on Atchin showing 401 men, women and children in 1914.

The problem of depopulation in the New Hebrides as a whole has been discussed by various authors and cannot be gone into here.[5]

Godefroy attributes the general decline to:

(*a*) Contact with Europeans;

(*b*) Indentured labour;

(*c*) Introduced diseases;

(*d*) Alcoholism.

It will be noted that (*a*) covers all the others. Though alcoholism has taken its toll in other parts of the group, it was not a serious factor on Vao while I was there, though it may have become so later. He says that, according to reports of the old men, many died of famine (probably due to a particularly bad hurricane destroying their crops or preventing access to the mainland) about 100 years ago.[6]

[1] Douceré, p. 153.
[2] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 34-5.
[3] Speiser, 1, p. 57.
[4] Written communication.
[5] See particularly Rivers, *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, Cambridge, 1922; Baker, *Depopulation in Espirito Santo, New Hebrides*: *Man*, LVIII, January-June 1928; Harrisson, 2, pp. 261 ff.
[6] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 51-2.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

162 In 1932, the year of his departure from Vao, Godefroy compiled a list of all the married men on the island, together with their children, arranged in "clans," i.e. villages. This list cannot be regarded as a census, since it omits, (*a*) bachelors, though it does not state at what age a boy is assumed to become a bachelor, (*b*) women, and (*c*) the children of widows.[1]

The list is useful, however, as giving

(i) the names of married men;

(ii) the approximate strength at that date of the population of the various villages;

(iii) the proportion of males who, judged by their assumption of baptismal names, had at that time become members of the Catholic Church.

The figures are as follows:

Side of the Island	Village	Married Men	Children of Married Men	Total	Heathen	Christian
Superior	Pete-hul	17	32	49	14	3
	Togh-vanu	30	16	46	25	5
		47				8
Inferior	Peter-ihi	9	6	15	7	2
	Venu	9	6	15	2	7
	Singon	8	7	15	6	2
	Norohure	12	3	15	10	2
		42				13
(refugee)	Tolamp	4	1	5	4	–
	Total	89	71	160	68	21

If we assume that the "children" are of both sexes, and that the number of women is approximately the same as that of men, and if we add 20 "bachelors," we arrive at the approximate figure of 358 for the total population in the year 1932. This agrees with Godefroy's statement,[2] that the population was then about 350, and certainly well below 400.

The figures show clearly the preponderance of the superior double-village Pete-hul–Togh-vanu over each of the other two double-villages, but at the same time show how the population of the two Sides of the Island is approximately equal, the Superior Side containing 47 married men [3] and the Inferior Side 42.

It is noticeable also that the number of converts is greater on the Inferior

[1] Children of widows are usually adopted by one of the father's younger brothers, so that this omission is negligible.

[2] Kindly transmitted by his brother, l'Abbé A. Godefroy, in a letter dated Dec. 11th, 1936.

[3] The list of married men provides the only reliable figures. The number of children must be taken as only approximate.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Side of the Island, always avid for something new, than on the more conservative and better organised Superior Side. The figures for the whole island show that among the married men 21 have been baptised as against 68 who at that time were still heathen, that is to say, a ratio of about 1 to 3¼. Of the 21 baptised married men, 8 belong to the Superior Side of the Island and 13 to the Inferior. This corresponds fairly with Godefroy's statement that at the time he left, 24 families, comprising 112 or 115 individuals, had embraced Christianity.[1] The ratio between the two Sides of the Island is interesting, because it follows exactly the cultural pattern existing under native conditions quite apart from the introduction of Christianity. Thus, it is precisely the villages on the Inferior Side who, quite apart from European influence, have always been the first to adopt new elements of culture, either with regard to new words derived from other islands or to new Maki, Initiation or other rites.

162 •

GODEFROY'S LIST OF MARRIED MEN, TOGETHER WITH THE NUMBER OF THEIR CHILDREN

(The sign ↓ indicates relationship of father to son. Names of those who have been baptised are placed in brackets.)

162
551

Pete-hul.

Age	Name	Number of Children (both sexes)	Age of Children
70	Te-le-melum		
	↓		
30	Mal-melip	1	4
50	Sue		
35	Shelling	1	
40	Melte-sas [2]	2	
50	Melte-ratan	2	
40	Melte-buras	1	
35	Sak-sak	4	
25	(Cyprien)	1	
60	Batun-vanu	7	
35	Melte-tali	1	
40	Melte-ral	2	
30	Melte-romon		
35	Melte-saen	1	
35	Mal-kali		
35	(Alexandre)	8	
25	(Louis)	1	

17 married men, 32 children. Total 49.

[1] In another place he gives the figure of 124. When Godefroy went to Vao in 1925 there were less than 12 baptised Christians.

[2] The syllables *Melte-* occurring so many times in this list represent the title *Meltag*, of which the final *g* appears to have been softened out of existence since my visit.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Tegh-nemu.

●162
551

Age	Name	Number of Children (both sexes)	Age of Children
70	Melte-lum		
	↓		
45	Melte-navertûm		
45	Melte-singon-maki	2	12, 13
60	Timbatum		
	↓		
25	Melte-sale		
55	Sarongi		
	↓		
20	René Pong		
40	Te-singon	1	8
50	Melte-ronge [2 wives]	7	4 to 16
35	Ne-imor		
	↓		
10	Tari [1]		
60	Lili-melteg-ru		
	↓		
25	Melte-mburi	1	2
55	Aser-aul		
	↓		
30	(Claver)		
50	Sarong	2	(young)
50	Saraul		
	↓		
10	Na-sum [1]		
40	(Etienne)		
	↓		
14	(Raymond)		
35	Roring-mal [2 wives]		
60	Val-vale		
	↓		
30	Melte-ver-tal	1	1
55	(Barthélémy)		
	↓		
18	Viamey		
45	(Gabriel)	1	
60	Melte-suri		
	↓		
30	Mel-singon-reim [unmarried]		
55	Nei-mot-mot	1	5
40	Melte-mbirsi		

29 married men, 1 bachelor, 16 children. Total 46.

[1] These two can hardly have been married. I leave them, however, as they stand in Godefroy's list.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Ptier-thi.

Age	Name	Number of Children (both sexes)	Age of Children
60	Ni-mbek		
	↓		
25	Tugan	1	
30	Pel-bomb	1	
35	Sami	1	
40	Melte-les-aim		
	↓		
—	Mal-sor		
40	(Antoine)	2	
25	Rowung	1	
35	(Marco)		

9 married men, 6 children. Total 15.

Wen (Vens).

55	Melte-limare	1	
—	(Marcel)		
25	(Joseph)	2	
25	(Stanislas)		
25	(Valerien)		
60	Sile	1	
35	(Gaston)	1	
25	(Thomas)		
30	(Emile)	1	

9 married men, 6 children. Total 15.

Singon.

50	(Dominique)	8 (has had 15 children by his only wife)	
60	Tan-wogaru		
25	Mal-severe		
—	Melte-kapman[1]	1	
60	Melte-rong-nelm		
—	Mikael	1	
25	Melte-guhu-maki	2	
50	(André)	1	

8 married men, 7 children. Total 15.

[1] *Kapman* is the native pronunciation of the word "Government."

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Norsksure.

Age	Name	Number of Children (both sexes)	Age of Children
80	Mal-var-varas		
50	Melteg-sul		
—	Posé		
65	(Barnabé)		
50	Melte-serale		
30	Melte-kila	1	
90	Na-ror		
55	Melte-sum-balbal		
30	Sale		
60	(Constantin)		
30	Sak	2	
30	Melte-longan		

12 married men, 9 children. Total 15.

Tolamp (refugee community).

80	Melte-sarer		
50	Melte-Captain-Morin [1]		
20	Martinio		
60	Te-lug-lu [2]	1	

4 married men, 1 child. Total 5.

To complete the list of available male names other than those appearing in the above lists, and in the Vao and Tolamp genealogies (Tables II, III and X), and in the course of the text, the following names of small boys occur in Godefroy's letters :

Sio	Vete	Maklal
Wili	Tali	Tari
Masumso	Solimp	Metu
Puembo	Malili	Narer
Pong		

[1] Named after a Frenchman well known in the islands.
[2] This name figures also in my Tolamp genealogy (Table X), where it is spelt Te-lugh-lugh.

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
0012 Malekula 0012
Big Nambas

From the first missionary, John Williams, murdered in 1839, until the present day, these devoted men, working according to their own lights, meeting often with sudden death, have been the only influence for good and sanity of any sort; even had they accomplished nothing, the missionaries would be the best people in island history. It was not always the Mission who converted the people or disrupted the native civilization. It was the chaos of endless new unknown diseases, the fundamental cultural upset due to iron and firearms. In seeking protection from these and from the other whites who brought them, the natives came to the missionary. The early records of the group are a ghastly list of introduced diseases—scarlet fever, measles, consumption, smallpox, phthisis, gonorrhoea, whooping cough, influenza, diphtheria, meningitis—all fatal to these people. The population, particularly where it was much in contact with whites, was decimated. Their culture was based on a certain speed, rhythm, and age-cycle; the sudden death of artist, magician, or chief upset the whole. The old beliefs, ancient gods, countermagics, and native herbs, could do nothing; so they turned to the white man's god, who must be stronger than their own. The new trend among the missionized people, as it gathers internal momentum, shows signs of turning against its instigators, the white missionaries. So far experiments in founding a native-run church have regularly failed. The new motive power is economic rather than religious; some revival of passive heathenism is an ingredient. The price of copra, regulated by the combines far away in Europe, has become in many ways the determining factor. During the period of my visit copra prices reached their lowest level. The missionized natives have become dependent on their coconuts to earn them money for knives, calico, tobacco, belts, even bread, rice, and tinned meat—the substitutes for "heathen" things that have become extinct through mission influence. Low prices mean little money and a standard of living reduced below the level of the last thirty years, in many ways below that of the heathen bushmen. This annoys the native against the white, who has created these demands and will not satisfy them; and a shirt has become the essential symbol of a mission native, to such an extent that without a shirt he feels no longer Christian. I doubt if the group has within sight an important economic future for the white man, despite the recent optimistic accounts of Archimbaud (1927) and Lop (1933). The Chinese and Japanese are rapidly gaining economic power; they may find in these fever- and cyclone-ridden islands an important outlet. Half-castes are not numerous. French ones rank equal with pure Frenchmen as citizens, and run many French plantations.

Recently the administration have to some extent changed their policy, for example in relation to trouble within the native community and in appointing me to pacify the Big Nambas. The native will therefore expect more arbitration in future; if it is not provided, the administration will be discredited, to the danger of all whites.

So the age-long cycle goes on. The native population was never stable, either in culture or in numbers. When Quiros came the population was about at a peak in the north; now it has reached a trough, on the interminable up and down of all races. It is time for the Melanesian to climb again. He is climbing wherever conditions are at all favourable. And the vital question

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
0012 Malekula 0012
Atchin

busis introduced to destroy mosquito larvae; the movements of hill people to the sea controlled; no women should be allowed to work on a plantation. If these steps are taken the physical conservation of the bushman may be achieved.

The cultural conservation technique cannot be expressed so concretely. It is too late to preserve the pattern complete. There is however a good alternative, and I can best give my point of view by describing a concrete example of what can happen with proper guidance or good luck, as on the island of Atchin.

(ii) *Atchin*, 1935.—There is no doubt that on small islands a mile or less across health is much better and *Anopheles* mosquitoes are often absent. They are the small island populations which are increasing most rapidly throughout the group, though some are still decreasing, and in these islands I see the best future of the race. Most have mainly mission populations, but on some heathens are dominant. One such is Atchin, half a mile off the east coast of Malekula; of the four hundred and eighty natives less than two dozen are Christians. A Seventh Day Adventist missionary lived there for many years, and all the other missions maintain native teachers there. The missions have had no success, but the natives got some ideas from them which they have incorporated into their own culture. More valuable has proved the visit of an anthropologist, John W. Layard. He was there more than twenty years ago, but to this day is remembered as Tsoni (Johnny). He gained a remarkable understanding of the Atchinese, and his sympathy greatly encouraged the people to keep up their old heathen customs. Like all Hebrideans, the Atchinese sold land to the whites for a few guns in the early days. Unlike all the rest, they have since bought it back. Their country is their own. As their yam gardens are on the mainland, they are expert canoeists; they still keep up the old canoe voyages to Ambrym, trading penis-wrappers for pigs; to Malo, Santo, and east Malekula. The old turmeric-dye leaf trade has been taken over by French ships, and for some years now there has been no ritual sex-initiation voyage to Omba, home of the benign deity Ta-har (= Tagaro). The best fishermen, whole villages club their copra together to get a modern European drag net; but do not let decay the ancient stone-wall trap, a sort of lobster-pot, and the special handnets for the Palolo worm, which at certain seasons appears in millions, giving its name to three of the lunar months. They run their own stores and sell their own copra to the highest bidder of the several ships that call in search of this lucrative trade. They encourage whites to visit but not to stop. They make sham spears to sell to world-touring yachts which call regularly to see these remarkably safe savages; the real spears they do not show. They have twice done all their dances for film companies, in no way to the detriment of the dance culture or significance, rather the opposite. Baker (1935, p. 212) says of the Sakaus, Santo: "If they had been persuaded to dance for the tourists it would have been the beginning of the break-up of their culture, in which dancing plays an important part. . . . The prostitution of their culture by tourists would be deleterious not only to themselves but also to social anthropology." Apart from the fact that the Sakaus have unfortunately lost, almost forgotten, the whole dance-cycle of the highest chiefly grade (*vuster*), and that the special dance for the marriage of a